

PEACE NEWS

The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

No. 83

London: January 15, 1938

2d.

PACIFIST POLICY IS PRACTICAL

"THE ONLY SENSE THAT IS BEING TALKED ABOUT EUROPE"

WRITING a "Time-Tide Diary" of his experiences in "Ski-Hotel, 5,000 feet up," in Austria, "East Wind" said in "Time and Tide" last week:

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"That is the only sense that is being talked about Europe in your country," he said. "Half the money the English have already spent on armaments—not even that, but just a willingness to help the hungry—and there would be no need for your battleships. England is building to keep what she has got. The hungry nations will drag her down to perdition with them."

The "hungry nations, the hungry people"—over and over again the phrase was used, at the skiraum, in the kitchens, on the stairs, wherever the politically-minded English visitor would stop and talk in confidence.

Here is the key to the tangled situation. While we talk about "have-not-nations" in England, clever men write articles to prove that colonies don't benefit anyone. Britain just arms to keep hers out of pure altruism. But these sinking peoples are not hungry about colonies. They want bread and work. 43,000 people in Vienna for food distribution and only the poorest need apply. How will colonies heal that sore?

"Something must be done."

NEXT WEEK

another Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union will begin writing weekly on page two, when

WILFRED WELLOCK

will write a commentary on

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Van Zeeland Report Must Be Acted Upon Soon

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

THE appeal for a change in British policy from "what we have we hold" to one of sharing made at the Parliamentary Pacifist Group's latest convention, at Bristol, on Saturday, was a particularly effective one.

Not only was the case very well stated but the criticism—particularly from those of the Labour Party who are obsessed with the fascist scare—has probably never been so well dealt with.

The very practical nature of pacifist policy was the keynote of the convention.

Facing the Facts

WHAT are we as realists going to do about defence?"

asked Mr. Fred Messer, M.P., addressing the convention in Central Hall. He was speaking to the first resolution, which declared "that it is the right of every citizen to renounce all participation in and preparation for war," and his answer was:

Don't give up after a war those things you have attempted to defend. Meet together before the war starts and see how much you can share.

The resolution, which was carried unanimously, had been moved by the chairman, Laurence Housman.

Weighty support for the policy stated by Mr. Messer came from George Lansbury when he moved the second resolution, calling upon the British Government to summon a new world conference at which the economic and territorial grievances of nations may be examined, discussed, and settled by mutual adjustment.

VAN ZEELAND REPORT

For he spoke from first-hand experience of the willingness of all the leading statesmen to take part in such action. Moreover, on his latest tour of Central European countries he found—as he had found in other countries—that those statesmen were confident of the success of that policy.

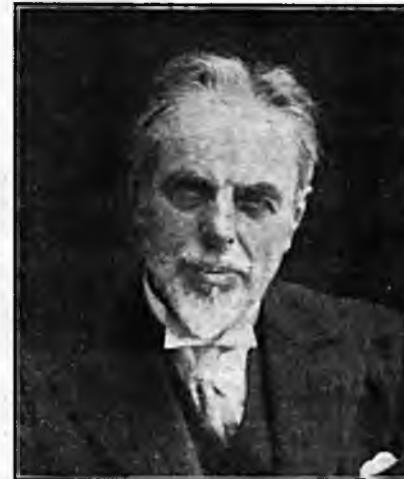
Referring to M. Van Zeeland's inquiry among the nations into their economic problems and the news that he was about to issue his report, Mr. Lansbury said, "It ought to be published soon and ought to be acted upon soon.

"We ought to know whether the results are going to be pigeon-holed or whether they are going to be brought to the conference table and discussed in the open.

"We have got to live together. The old way has run its limits. The problem of China and Japan is brutally economic.

"Are we to stand up and say that our intelligence is so bankrupt that we won't take this one step of bringing the nations together and, through the public opinion of the world, compelling the statesmen to face the fact that these are questions that make people go to war, that make people arm?

"I commend this resolution to you and ask you to be missionaries for this conference. Call it what you will, but take it as the alternative to war."



LAURENCE HOUSMAN,
Chairman of the Convention.

[Mr. Lansbury told the press he was accepting invitations also from leading Hungarian, Yugoslav, and Rumanian statesmen, as well as from Arabs and Jews.]

The seconder of the motion, Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P., showed the consequences of refusing to meet the claims of the poorer nations by quoting the words of Herr Stresemann, the former German statesman, to Britain:

If you had given me some concession, I could have won this generation for peace—for lasting peace. That you did not has been my tragedy and your crime.

Replying to Labour Party delegates who protested against meeting the claims of fascists, George Lansbury recalled that in February, 1936, he moved a resolution in the House of Commons along the same lines as this, and that Mr. Lees Smith spoke for it as the official speaker for the Labour Party.

"The Labour Party is pledged to this," he added. "The comrade nods his head. But, my friend"—turning to a speaker from the floor—"it was for a conference with those wicked fascist Powers, to do those very things for which we have been criticized for recommending now. Don't say you are speaking for the Labour Party, because I am!"

The resolution was carried with only four dissentents.

Another of those who visited the statesmen of Central Europe recently, the Rev. Henry Carter, moved "that the League of Nations should be transformed" by

(a) Founding its authority on "the moral influence of world public opinion" rather than upon armed coercion.

(b) Extending its powers of conciliation.

"Good Night, Dick"

"In memoriam—Dick Sheppard" had been the first item on the agenda. The first resolution had been carried unanimously. So had the last. "George" had conducted the passing of a comprehensive vote of thanks. The meeting was over.

But "I just want to say one word more," said Laurence Housman from the chair. "Good night, Dick!"

(c) Applying the principle of international control.

(d) Enlarging its present humanitarian activities.

The Premier of Poland, he said, implored them to use all their influence to persuade statesmen to lead the nations toward the conference table instead of toward war.

Miss Mary Gamble, in seconding, as usual gave one of the best speeches of the convention. The resolution was carried unanimously.

THE WAY TO DISARMAMENT

"We are spending at the rate of £1,000,000 per day on arms—excepting Sundays, when we knock off to pray for peace," said Dr. Alex. Wood, moving a resolution advocating total disarmament, if necessary by example, and the end of treaties binding us to go to war in any circumstances.

Dealing with the latter part of the resolution, James Hudson described how the people of this country were "led by the nose" into the Great War on the appeal that they were bound by a treaty with Belgium, of which practically nothing was known, to defend her. He recounted some of the similar treaties we had signed since then and pointed out that these and also the "new kinds" that are now suggested (such as the so-called "democratic bloc") all meant war, whatever we called it.

An amendment, moved by the Rev. T. R. King and seconded by Mr. W. L. Williams (Secretary) for the Christian Pacifist Party, supported the purpose of the resolution but gave expression to the need for a pacifist government to do what the resolution demanded. Only a pacifist government could do that, so the amendment proposed a new political party that would "urge upon the electorate" the need for such a government.

Mr. King recalled "the glorious victory of Dick Sheppard at Glasgow," and pleaded that his example should be followed.

The time has come to show that pacifism is no mere appendage to socialism, but is the only sure means of its attainment."

To the plea that the time is not ripe for a new party Mr. Williams said, "In God's name if the time is not ripe now when will it be? Let us not wait till the time passes from ripeness to rottenness."

That there was a much more practical method of going ahead was the ground on which the Rev. Henry Carter made the most effective speech against the amendment.

He pointed out that all the eight

pacifist M.P.s were elected as pacifists and said we should "concentrate our electoral effort on the constituencies where we have tested men who will carry our banner" irrespective of party. Mr. Lansbury himself declared that he stood as a pacifist candidate and was freely allowed to speak as a pacifist.

Despite these "big guns," there was a large but minority vote for the amendment.

The only speaker (so far) for the Peace Pledge Union—Mr. George Wyman, of the Gloucester group—was the only one also actually to receive cheers. He was speaking for the resolution (which was later carried by a large majority) and said that if we believed disarmament was right, we should do it for that reason, whatever other nations did, and rely on the greatest force—"the power of the love of God."

Strong opposition to air raid "precautions" was included in the final resolution against conscription, which was moved by Cecil H. Wilson, M.P.

Douglas J. J. Owen, who is the National Organizer of the Parliamentary Pacifist Group, seconded, pointing out that even if only ten percent of the members of the Peace Pledge Union held to their pledge the Government would be faced with a far greater number of absolutists than there were in the Great War.

The convention was followed up by two public meetings in Central Hall on Sunday afternoon and evening, when George Lansbury and Alex. Wood spoke.

'Crippled' Without War Threat

PRESIDENT ON U.S. POLICY

THE United States House of Representatives has turned down a proposal for a nation-wide referendum before declaring war, following a declaration by Mr. Roosevelt that it would "cripple any President in the conduct of our foreign relations."

In other words, the nation which initiated the Kellogg Pact, whose signatories renounced war as an instrument of policy, would find itself "crippled" if the possibility of declaring war, or threatening to do so, were not to be an instrument of policy.

But the Ludlow Referendum proposal, as it is called, received 182 votes on Monday compared with 209 votes against.

The campaign for this reform will now be carried on on the election platform.

MILK FOR SPAIN

A feature of a social organized by the Leeds P.P.U. group last week was a stall set up for the sale of milk for Spain in answer to the appeal of the International Voluntary Service for Peace. Twenty dozen tins were bought for this purpose.

Who's Who in This Issue

C. F. Andrews: Well-known authority on Indian questions; has worked in close association with Gandhi, Tagore, and other Indian leaders....page six.

R. W. Hunter: Has travelled in the Pacific; still in touch with that region....page two.

Eric Buss: Member of Bermondsey Peace Pledge Union group, Central London Y.M.C.A. P.P.U. group, and Methodist Peace Fellowship....page nine.

Wilfred Wellock: Sponsor of Peace Pledge Union; formerly Chairman of the late No More War Movement; Labour candidate (and ex-M.P.) for Stourbridge....page eleven.

R. W. HUNTER tells you

WHERE NATIONS LIVE IN PEACE

Plans for Peace—3

undefined boundaries. Other than that, the residences of the various nationalities are intermingled throughout the city and its suburbs without regard for individual national origins.

With the exception of the Hindus, Japanese, and Chinese, whose contacts with the white races are limited to occasions of actual business transactions or of domestic service, no material distinction exists in business life between those of differing nationalities.

A similar situation exists in social life, except that in sports, such as tennis and baseball, the Japanese, while not ordinarily mixing with the white races, are met with on terms of equality in tournaments and matches. The normal social distinctions to be found in any Western American community are, of course, observed.

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A NATURAL tendency exists for those from the same land of birth to gravitate toward each other in social life.

The Italian, be he Piedmontese, Venetian, or Tuscan, would, with his inborn worship of grand opera, find little interest in Burns, Dickens, or Highland dancing. But such natural gravitation is merely a temporary withdrawing from the whole, and does not result in isolation of one nationality from the other.

Numerous societies and associations flourish for the communal meeting of people of the same nationality, even as there are many societies composed of those born in the various counties of England and Scotland. However, the existence of such societies creates no artificial barriers between one nationality and another any more than the distinction between, say, the members of the Birmingham and Midland Counties Association and those of the Scottish Society.

The yellow races and the Hindus, on the other hand, maintain separation from each other; but Bhata Singh patiently delivers his loads of wood, Wing On contentedly peddles his vegetables, while Matsumoto tends his fishing nets or fells forest giants, each without a thought of the other.

The variety of religions practised in perfect freedom may be judged from the mention of some of the churches and the language of one of the services each Sunday:—

Bethlehem Lutheran (German), Nidaros Lutheran (Norwegian), Redeemer Lutheran (Finnish), Danish Lutheran, Moravian Church, Russian Orthodox, Greek Orthodox, the Sikh Temple, and the Japanese Buddhist Church.

The Highland Scot can hear his sermon in Gaelic, while the Frenchman listens to the tongue of France.

In the Courts of Justice it is no uncommon thing for a Chinese witness to take oath by burning a paper in the witness-box, or for the court to adjourn outside to permit of a rooster having its head chopped off.

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THE situation in the country districts and rural communities as regards the white and other races is somewhat similar to that to be found in the city, except that distance and obstacles of nature prevent as much intermingling as occurs in the city.

The populating of small settlements by people of the same nationality adds to the obstacles of nature in maintaining a greater isolation. However, the schooling of the children and outside contacts gradually bring about an understanding and liking of those of other nationalities.

Admittedly, a problem of the future regarding the predominance of the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic races in Western Canada faces the Canadian Government, as is evidenced in Professor W. B. Hurd's recent book, *Decline of the Anglo-Saxon Canadian*.

It is further to be admitted that a serious economic and ethnological problem at present exists in British Columbia as regards its large Oriental population, which, in the case of the Japanese, is multiplying with a rapidity far in excess of the white race increase, and which, in its entirety, with its low standard of living, is detrimental to the well-being of the white races engaged in primary industries.

This problem manifests itself actively during periods of economic stress. Individual animosities, however, are not apparent.

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UNDoubtedly, throughout the whole population of British Columbia there is a spirit of willingness and desire for those of one national origin to understand those of another.

These efforts are facilitated by a common language, daily contacts in labour and in recreation, free trading intercourse with each other, and abandonment of ancient national feuds.

Illustrative of the desire of those of varying national origin to know more of each other is the annual holding of a folk song and dance festival, in which all nationalities take part in native costumes.

The new generations of each race have the opportunity of learning to understand each other from the very earliest. In the government schools, where is coeducation of the sexes, no racial distinction is made, nor is any colour line drawn. The Chinese youngster sits alongside the Japanese child in the same classes as the whites of every race.

While hardly capable of being termed a Utopia, British Columbia seems to afford an illustration of the possibility of people of one national origin fully understanding those of other origins when man-made artificial barriers are removed and when the respective "Flodden" and "Bannockburns" of each nationality are permitted to sink into and belong to the dim and distant past.

A PUBLIC MEETING
to Protest
Against the Crime of War
on Tuesday, January 18, at 8 p.m.

at
FRIENDS HOUSE, EUSTON RD., N.W.1

SPEAKERS:
Dr. Maude Royden (Chairman); Mrs. Gee (Spain); Miss Wellington Koo (China); Captain Philip S. Mumford (Air Warfare); Miss Mary Sutherland (Mover of resolution).
Admission free. Reserved tickets (2s. & 1s.) from The Women's International League, 55 Gower Street, W.C.1.

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Switzerland

FALLACY OF FIGHTING FOR IDEALS

Appeal to the Youth of the World

From a Correspondent

LISTEN one moment, before starting to shoot, to the proposal that you should bring your aims and ideals to the round table of the human family and there compare them."

So runs an appeal to the youth of the world by Edmond Privat, of Locarno, published in *Esperanto*, of Geneva.

"You are ready to die for a lofty purpose," he writes; "to fight against injustice, for men or lands in poverty against the rich, for national order or international discipline.

"On both sides there are ideals. The various aims inspire the opposite camps. Halt a moment, before you judge that all the wrong is on the enemy's side.

"How would you feel, if you were a youth, belonging to the country across the frontier? For a few seconds of eternity place yourself in his position, in order to understand him. While you would fight and slay for an ideal, he would believe so too.

"Contrary aims inspire you to death and destruction, but behind you there are interests and profits very much alike, especially the gains of the armament-makers. Are your aims really so opposed, while the devil's profits are so much in unity?

POISON OF VIOLENCE

"Many in both camps are just. The poor have a right to live: poor countries also. To avoid disorder and theft, justice and equality are necessary.

"Theft and disorder are no more suitable methods internationally than between individuals. Violence poisons every problem.

"Why not make peace before war, while there is yet time? Past experience is enough to show the cost of destruction and the cost of injustice.

"Instead of pitting yourselves and your aims against one another, examine them together and add to them justice for all. A difficult task? Doubtless, and one demanding sacrifice, but is it more so than that of winning a war and afterward making a lasting peace?

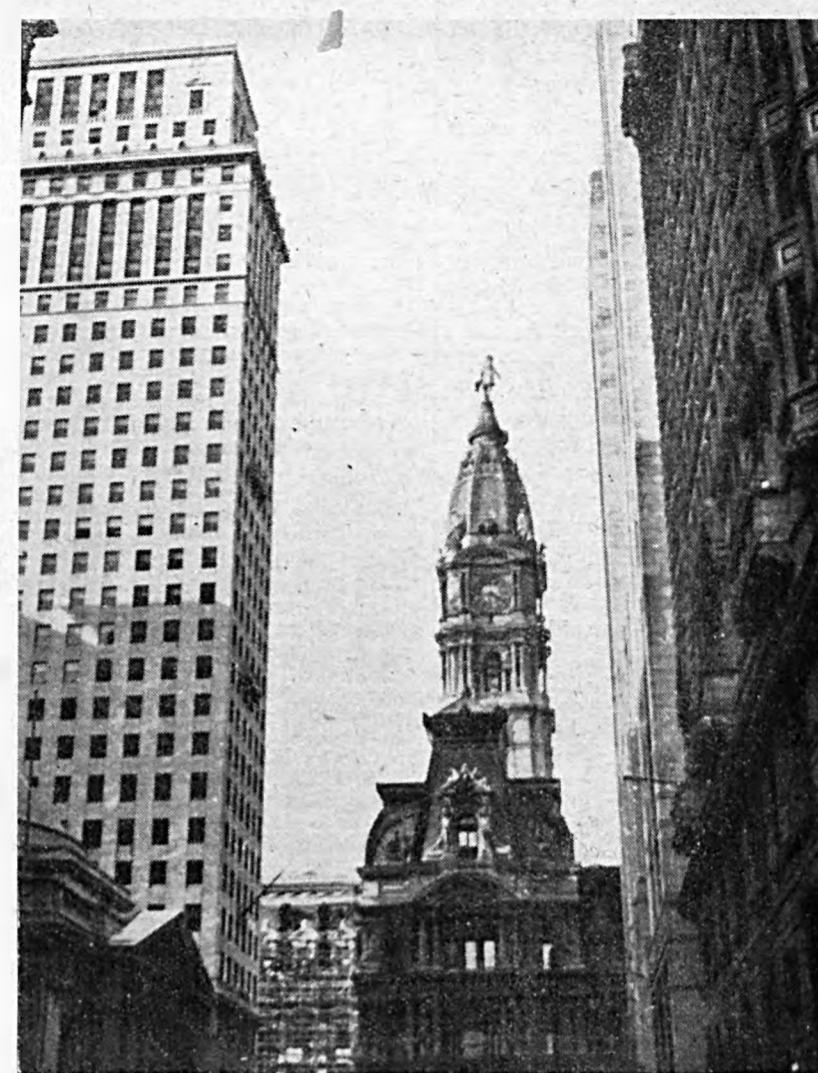
"Stop and think, brave youths. If free thought has no right of expression in that country or the other, remember that there would no longer be free thought with you if war should come. Think, then, while yet there is time."

Esperanto at Catholics' World Congress

Opportunities for peace propaganda should be numerous at the World Eucharistic Congress to take place at Budapest in May. Hundreds of thousands of Catholics are expected to attend.

Esperanto has been introduced as one of the official languages of the congress, while within the framework of the main congress will be held the first Universal Esperanto Eucharistic Congress.

Further details are obtainable from: 34th Eucharistic Congress, Budapest, Ferenciek tere 7, Hungary.



In this picture can be seen a statue of William Penn which stands among the modern buildings of Philadelphia ("the city of brotherly love"). Something seems to displease him, however, for William Penn today has his back turned to the city he founded!

France

This TRUTH is TREASON

I would again remind you, and again affirm, that no power of aggression—whether from within or from without—would be able to withstand a properly conducted collective defence which observed these three points: general strike, refusal to pay taxes and refusal to undertake military service.

These words amount to incitement to disaffection in France.

Four months' imprisonment and a fine of 100 francs was the sentence passed on Louis Loréal, editor and manager of the French pacifist newspaper, *La Patrie Humaine*, for allowing them to appear in his paper. Proceedings against the paper were pressed by the War Minister.

South Africa

PACIFIST'S MISSIONARY TOUR

Backed by British Bodies
Special to PEACE NEWS

LAVING shortly on a two months' missionary tour for pacifism in South Africa is the Rev. John Meller, well known in the Fellowship of Reconciliation in this country.

He intends to start his tour by giving the pacifist message wherever he can get a hearing, and by founding local groups, with, if possible, a secretary in South Africa. The venture has the official support of the Peace Pledge Union as well as the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

"My itinerary has been provisionally drawn up," Mr. Meller told PEACE NEWS, "to include all the large centres from Capetown to Pretoria in the four provinces of the Union—altogether about 25 places."

He suggested that PEACE NEWS readers could help by notifying their friends in South Africa, by sending him addresses of any South African friends likely to "join up," and by prayer.

Mr. Meller, whose address is "The Manse," Beacon Hill, Hindhead, Surrey, leaves London on February 11. It is hoped to publish in PEACE NEWS shortly the itinerary of his tour.

Canada

F.O.R. Unit Planned

Steps have just been taken toward the formation of a national unit of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Canada.

These follow discussions which a group of interested people had with John Nevin Sayre, of the American F.O.R., on his recent visit to Canada.

Far East

War Means Killing Former Friends

A GLIMPSE of the tragic way in which the war now raging in the Far East has affected friendships between those on opposing sides is provided by the following, taken from a letter written by a Japanese student, who calls himself Mitsui, to his former tutor at an American university. (Chang and Kim, to whom he refers, are two Chinese who were his fellow-students.)

WAR has no respect for the things of the heart, and here is war, and here soon one small unwilling captain of infantry will wake from a night of rest and look around to discover that he no longer is honoured by the friendship of his great friend and teacher in America.

For war enters into the heart where it is not welcome and makes a strange chemistry. And my American friend, who once said he had a great love for one small Japanese scholar, will think only of many small captains of infantry making many unpopular battles.

He will hold on to the last and say all men are brothers and that he still thinks the same thoughts and loves the same poetry and speaks the

India

BOMBAY'S FIRST "BLACK-OUT"

Because many householders did not cooperate, Bombay city's first "black-out" last week was described as only moderately successful.

Photographs of the effects were taken by R.A.F. planes.

same languages with his former Japanese brother.

But he will remember these things better of Chang and Kim than he will remember them of Mitsui. For Chang and Kim will be in the war on the side where the heart leans and Mitsui will be on the side that the heart is turned against.

And what of Chang and Kim? They who once called Mitsui brother now join their countrymen in blind hate of a thousand Mitsuis. And Mitsui dare not send them a letter full of his ancient love. It would mean the firing squad.

Mitsui will fall in battle with a bullet from Chang or from Kim in his heart. Please to some day inform these brothers that their bullets entered Mitsui's heart only to find their love and brotherhood and a great sorrow.

"DANGEROUS THOUGHTS"

Imprisoned last month during the Japanese authorities' round-up of 300 people suspected of "dangerous thoughts," Baroness Ishimoto has just been released.

She was particularly questioned during detention on what she thought would happen when the soldiers returned from China. Although declining to forecast this, she said the war was costing a great deal and the people would be very poor.

Headquarters' Notes

By MAX PLOWMAN

DISINTERESTEDNESS—by which I mean the ability to act with pure devotion—is as beautiful as it is rare. And it is very rare indeed: in fact, most of us behave as if it didn't and couldn't exist. Then trouble begins; for in the middle of such a society a man like Dick Sheppard appears—a man who acts year after year, day after day, and then almost momentarily, with real disinterestedness. The effect is startling. By the common people he is loved beyond measure, for the heart of man is sound and knows that disinterestedness is what it wants; but by the man of the world he is regarded with cynical tolerance and dubbed a sentimental idealist. By orthodox people in the religious profession he is thought to be one who overdoes it; for they know the ropes and, being wise in their generation, can make the profession of religion an aid, rather than an impediment, to the pursuit of their own interests.

* * *

We are faced with a bit of a conundrum when we observe that the place where disinterestedness is most likely to be recognized and acclaimed is in the Fighting Services. But Robert Bridges explains that paradox in "The Testament of Beauty"; so I wasn't in the least surprised to learn that one of the last and most pressing invitations Canon Sheppard received was from the Staff Officers at Camberley. And I am sure that had he lived and been able to accept it, he would have been welcomed with a cordiality greater than any he enjoyed at a meeting of the Church Assembly.

* * *

Blake prayed: "O God, protect me from my friends, that they have not power over me. Thou hast given me power to protect myself from my bitterest enemies." The prayer is not cynical, as we are at first disposed to regard it, but an echo of the accepted saying that a prophet is not without honour, save in his own country and in his own house; and if Dr. Sheppard never prayed to be delivered from his friends, then he must have been even more disinterested than seems credible.

* * *

Now the capacity to act with some disinterestedness is alike the claim of the true militarist and the true pacifist. The quality is actually easier to exercise if you happen to be a militarist, because then its scope is confined and does not embrace the civil order of society. But pacifism in practice demands the extension of the militarist's disinterestedness to the whole of social life; and because it embraces so wide a field is, of course, immeasurably more difficult to practise. What we all have to do is to make our first efforts in this enterprise.

However, what I now want to insist is that it will for ever remain beyond the province of anyone to tell you or me whether our efforts are sound or unsound, because there is not, and never will be, a true criterion of disinterestedness. It is therefore merely malicious and disruptive to invent a criterion of disinterestedness whose only purpose is to prove that most of us are hypocrites because most of our actions are not disinterested. The greatest danger of a clap-trap knowledge of social economics lies just here; for it puts into the hands of honest and stupid people, who have great reverence for abstraction, the means of proving with abstract conclusiveness that every one of us is either a "down-and-out" or a predatory knave.

In the abstract that may be so; but in truth, most of us are neither; and it is mere slander to call people names that are untrue and abusive. As pacifists what we most need in this matter is to behave, as far as possible in a capitalist society, as if capitalism didn't exist. That was what Dick Sheppard actually did. It is my opinion that in

The Notice Board

Pacifist postal worker in London, E.C. area, please communicate with City P.P.U. group, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4.

Those interested in formation of group in **East Ham and Manor Park** communicate with Rev. Sidney Colson, 22 Woodhouse Grove, E.12, or with Miss Chant, 7 Tweedmouth Road, E.13.

Poster parades from Highbury Corner as follows to advertise Wednesday's meeting in Islington Town Hall:—Today (Sat.), 3 and 7 p.m.; Monday and Tuesday, 7.30 p.m.

Volunteers are required for poster parades every Saturday. Meet at the P.P.U. offices, 96 Regent Street, at 6.45 p.m.

Following books are missing from the P.P.U. Library. Will anyone who happens to have one or more of them in his or her possession be kind enough to return them at once to 96 Regent Street, W.1? Many of them cannot be replaced even could this be afforded.

THE NEW PACIFISM. (Collection of essays by Heard, Huxley, Milne, Sheppard, Heath, Nichols, Alexander.)

PEACE OFFERING. Johnson.

WE DID NOT FIGHT. Bell.

CHALLENGE OF THE FUTURE. Andrews.

AUSTRALIA AND THE FAR EAST. Ross.

TOLSTOY. Rolland.

FIRST WORLD WAR. Stallings.

THE WORLD AS I SEE IT. Einstein.

ORGANIZING PEACE. Garnett.

PROTECTION OF THE PUBLIC FROM AERIAL ATTACK.

THE INTELLIGENT MAN'S GUIDE THROUGH WORLD CHAOS.

PEACE AND THE CLERGY. A German Priest.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION. Various Authors.

THE NEUROSES OF THE NATIONS. C. E. Playne.

THE POLITICAL CENSORSHIP OF FILMS. Ivor Montagu.

THE FEDERALIST. Madison, Hamilton and Jay.

AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF PACIFISM. Aldous Huxley.

THE CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE. B. de Ligt.

FOCH TALKS. Commandant Buguet.

Cardiff group making exhibition on "Causes of War and their Removal"; anyone able to lend material (newspaper cuttings, photos, posters, statistics, cartoons, &c.) please send to E. C. Haigh, 23 Cromwell Road, Birchgrove, Cardiff.

Dundee group leader (E. S. Towill, 27 Windsor Street) would be glad to know of any signatories in the district who have not yet joined one of the teams which are being formed.

Finsbury Park group will meet, 1st & 3rd Fridays, in Committee Room, Finsbury Park Methodist Church (entrance in Wilberforce Rd.). Those interested please communicate with secretary, J. R. Parkinson, 71 Hillfield Avenue, N.8.

Swanwick camp, 1937: duplicated report (excellent permanent record obtainable, 1s. 6d., from Miss Doreen P. Jones, The Manse, Pickwick Road, Corsham, Wilts).

SWANWICK CAMP, 1938: provisional dates, July 29—August 5.

Points for Speakers: Will group leaders who would find a referenced and classified table of contents useful write to Walter Griffith, 3 Grosvenor Hill, Wimbledon, S.W.19? If response is adequate preparation will be started at once. Distribution will be free and table will be brought up to date periodically.

If you want literature dispatched promptly, please send your communication to Literature Dept., P.P.U., 96 Regent Street, W.1, with full name and address of persons to whom goods are to be dispatched, and of persons to whom to be invoiced. The communication should be separate from any other enclosed in same envelope.

so doing he did more to destroy the iniquity of modern capitalism than any man of his time; for capitalism is the apotheosis of self-interest, and, as with fascism, the only way to overcome it is by the practice of active disinterestedness.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION

WHAT IT IS

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes within its ranks all those who accept the pacifist doctrine no matter what their method of approach.

The activities of the Union are not confined to the comparatively negative activity of registering the names of those who are in opposition to war, but include the organizing of constructive work for peace.

Pacifists all over England are being trained in small groups for the achievement of a fully developed peace mentality so that they may be able to spread the doctrine of pacifism not only by propaganda but by personal example.

AND NOW —

Copy out on a post-card this pledge:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign your name and address and send it to:—

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION
96 Regent Street, W.1

who will be pleased to answer any questions

GROUP NOTES

By JOHN BARCLAY

STREATHAM have taken a large

room in 260 High Road and are shortly opening it as their headquarters. It faces to the front and the windows are on the level with the tops of buses. This will prove to be very valuable for propaganda purposes. The room is large enough to hold 30 or 40 people and there is a side entrance which makes it independent of the shop underneath. The Streatham group has been very much in the eye of the public lately. Besides holding a dance recently which made a profit of £6, they have also carried out an extensive leaflet and poster distribution in connexion with the meeting held on January 14. Numbers are growing and with the help of other groups in the same area they are going to coordinate their actions to some purpose.

Brighton and Hove are planning a house-to-house distribution of leaflets and something like 150,000 leaflets will be given away. This will be followed up by the meeting at the Pavilion on February 3.

Dundee. I should have mentioned the work of this group before. A great deal has been going on and there are now four teams meeting in various parts of the town. The signatories are being personally canvassed and two public meetings were held in October. Discussions have also been had with the Left Book Club and the Young Liberals. All communications should be addressed to E. S. Towill, 27 Windsor Street, Dundee.

Penrith. A new group was recently formed here and starting with a leaflet distribution on Armistice Day has gone on with steady progress in what should later become a very useful centre. Any members living in the neighbourhood should get in touch at once with J. Sprague, Homelands, Croft Avenue, Penrith.

What of the others?—It becomes increasingly difficult to make a survey in this short column which will give anything like the picture of what is going on in the country.

The map I spoke of last week is up and I shall try and make an analysis of the distribution of groups. Work goes on unceasingly and I am fully conscious of the part played by the groups which has made our progress so phenomenal. Sitting at 96 Regent Street it is easy to under-rate the difficulties that have to be met in small country towns. I therefore spend as much of my spare time as possible in travelling to various parts of the country, seeing the conditions on the spot.

During 1937 I visited more than 200 groups and have complete confidence in the ultimate success of our movement, as long as we do not forget the reasons for which groups were formed, (1) Study, (2) Propaganda, (3) Fellowship. They are equally important and must, I think, be carried on simultaneously. A group which meets once a month has no contact whatever with the outside world and is limiting its influence. It is necessary to give the whole of our time to the work we have undertaken, as nothing short of this will fulfil our purpose.

Note. Last week a misprint in my article occurred:—"to the secretary of whichever pacifist association they belong to" should read "teachers association."

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CENSORED PROPAGANDA FOR PEACE PAVILION

At Empire Exhibition

ARMY OFFICER AS CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE

From a Special Correspondent

ONLY peace propaganda approved by the Government will be given a showing in the peace pavilion to be erected for the Empire Exhibition in Glasgow from May to October this year.

Indeed, it will not be surprising if the pavilion is decorated with the well-known slogan: "Join the modern army. It's being mechanized, mate."

This is the only conclusion to be drawn from the fact that the

chairman of the Peace Pavilion Preliminary Committee is Lieut.-Col. J. Johnston, an officer in the Territorial Army, and that, according to statements made to the Scottish Peace Council by Mr. F. Douglas, the peace council's representative on the pavilion committee,

The interests of Mr. Anthony Eden, Foreign Secretary, have been secured, and

All literature shown on the stalls will have to be examined on behalf of the Government.

The proposal for a peace pavilion originated with members of the Scottish Peace Council, and was inspired by the peace pavilion at the recent Paris Exhibition.

Owing to lack of funds, however, they decided instead to have a stall at a cost of about £50. Discussion with the League of Nations Union followed, and the present venture was the result.

After other interested bodies had associated themselves with the proposal, the committee referred to above was set up, and it was planned to spend a maximum of £5,000 on the scheme.

ALL-PARTY BACKING

"The purpose of a peace pavilion," said the committee in an appeal for funds, "would be to demonstrate that the British Commonwealth stands not only for peace but for a peaceful and just international order developed through a strong League of Nations."

The appeal (and therefore, presumably, the piece of hypocrisy just quoted) has been endorsed by many prominent people, including the Archbishop of York, Dr. F. W. Norwood, Mr. C. R. Attlee, the Chief Rabbi, Sir Harold Bellman, H. H. Elvin, and Sir Archibald Sinclair.

As the Prime Minister is president of the League of Nations Union, which is taking a prominent part in the scheme, it may be fairly said that all-party support has been assured for this bogus peace pavilion.

PEACE MEMORIALS DESCRIBED

Peace monuments, memorials, and symbols, are very fully described in an article by Miss Zonia Baber. It is obtainable from her at 5656 Dorchester Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A., price ten cents.

Although all the well-known peace memorials are included, many of those described will be new to most people. For teachers, parents, speakers, &c., the article is invaluable. Miss Baber is chairman of the Peace Symbols Committee in the U.S.A. of Women's International League.

Something New in Peace Propaganda!

YOU'VE seen those newspaper advertisements about "Night Starvation," with the sketches which somehow make you look to see what the latest one is about?

Well, the idea has now been adapted for use on a leaflet advertising . . . peace!

"For your family's sake," runs the heading to the leaflet. There follows a drawing of Mrs. Everyman telling her husband that "Dr. Giles said Tom must have more eggs and butter and milk; but I can't afford it on our money. Why is everything getting so dear?"

"There's a tax or something like it on most of the things we eat and we're spending huge sums on armaments," explains Mr. Everyman. "My wages aren't going up, though!" he adds, ruefully. Other pictures show Mrs. Everyman discussing the matter with her neighbour at the grocer's and in the bus.

At the foot of the leaflet she points out the moral—not "Drink . . . every night," but

If all women got together and every women's organization demanded a policy which would bring peace, we should get it.

On the back is information about the Charter for Peace and Social Justice of the National Peace Council. Copies of the leaflet can be obtained from the council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1, price 1s. per 100.

TOYS OF MANY LANDS

An exhibit containing toys, games, books, &c., from many lands, which was originally started for the "Geneva at Ealing" Exhibition well over a year ago, has visited eight schools in Ealing district and one in Kent.

Teachers' reports indicate that considerable interest has been aroused by the exhibits, in some cases special lessons having been contrived to form a suitable background.

Austria, Brazil, China, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, France, Greenland, Hungary, Holland, Japan, Nigeria, Poland, United States of America, and Yugoslavia are all represented.



Patriot's Hymn of Peace

Thomas Baron Pitfield



THE above appears on the front of the hand-lettered and decorated version of *Patriot's Hymn of Peace*. The original manuscript (from which the published copies have been reproduced) was to have been given to Dick Sheppard.

Now the author has decided to offer the manuscript for sale in aid of the Dick Sheppard Memorial Fund. Anyone interested should write to the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1 (where the manuscript may be seen), making an offer. The highest bid will secure the manuscript.

"Poppy Clerks" Still Need Help

THE two men who lost their employment in the City of London through wearing peace poppies on Armistice Day still need offers of work.

Frank Edmunds, the elder of the two, is without work of any sort, although Ronald Darvell has been able to secure a temporary job.

Their qualifications include more than seven years' experience of accounts; shorthand and typing; and passed intermediate examinations in accountancy. Offers should be sent to the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

Why Tories Won't Back Peace Activity

"The attitude of so many conservatives in refusing active support of peace organizations" was "regretted" in a resolution moved (and lost) at the annual conference of the Federation of University Conservative and Unionist Associations.

The question of peace or war, said the proposer, Miss Mollie Hamblett, of Birmingham, was more urgent than the question of conservatism or socialism and of fascism or communism. She thought the objection was that many peace organizations were "too much Left in their tendencies."

Opposing the resolution, Mr. C. Wallworth, of Manchester, declared that members of many peace organizations were entirely ignorant of the principles of foreign policy. Some of the blunders which the Government had made in foreign policy

FIRST NIGHTS

of new London shows

A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S

DREAM. Old Vic.

A DELICIOUS Victorian if not essentially Shakespearean production with coryphées for fairies and a Titania after Maclise improved by Oliver Messel. The eye is continuously enchanted, the ear admirably served by Robert Helpmann as Oberon, Ralph Richardson as Bottom, Agnes Lauchlan as Helena and Chattie Salaman as the First Fairy. The Old Vic's best this season.

THIS MONEY BUSINESS.

Ambassador's.

Just another little comedy of family life with Henry Kendall as master of the capers. There is really nothing to say about it except that there is nothing to say about it.

H.F.

The Christian's duty in regard to war is the title of a series of lunch-hour addresses to be held on Thursdays, commencing January 27, in Christ Church, Victoria Street, Westminster, at 1.20 p.m. Speakers will include the Rev. James Fraser, Eric Gill, Ruth Fry, Canon Stuart Morris, and the Rev. Henry Carter.

had been caused through paying heed to the "clamour" of peace organizations.

Mr. J. C. T. McRobert, of Cambridge, declared that socialism in the universities, like pacifism, was becoming discredited, while Mr. MacLagan, of Oxford, said conservatives should hold the faith that a strong Conservative Government was the best guarantee for world peace.

Peace News

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Give your pledge on a post card:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

January 15, 1938

PACIFISM AND POLITICS

THERE can now be no doubt that the vast majority of people in this country not only desire peace perfectly sincerely but are ready to make considerable sacrifices for it. The general attitude of mind toward the peace problem has improved beyond measure within the last twelve months. The duty, therefore, of those who believe they know the only way in which peace can be assured is to exercise their imaginations as powerfully as possible on behalf of those of their fellows who are honestly seeking the way to peace, but who cannot see any connection between individual pacifism and the avoidance of international war. The understanding of this connection is frightfully important because in it lies the secret of the whole failure of modern politics, which is the failure of a structure whose component parts were unsound. The world is in its present chaotic condition primarily because individual responsibility has been declined and corporate responsibility has become so devolved that ultimately no one is responsible and government falls into the hands of men who, while they have the appearance of total responsibility, are fundamentally irresponsible. The wheel has come to full circle; and that is the secret of the modern situation. The world is what it is because it is radically unprincipled, and without individuals who are ready to maintain them, principles cannot be maintained.

Properly speaking, politics is the application of principles to corporate affairs. When the principles disappear, what happens to the politics? They turn into the travesty which we endure today: they become "power politics" which, in its ultimate, is nothing but the law of the jungle; and it is this which the pacifist is ready to withstand to the death. More, it can only be withstood by those who are themselves willing to implement the principles by which they live, and for which, if need be, they are prepared to die.

But sometimes it seems as if the task before the pacifist is that he shall **turn his eyes outward** and look with sympathy and understanding upon the agonies of a world struggling to free itself from the bondage of habits, customs, vices and modes of existence that now encircle its limbs like the serpents of the Laocoön; while the requirement laid upon those who are still vainly hoping to achieve peace through political means is that they shall **turn their eyes inward** and in themselves discover the secret of cause and effect by seeing there the images of those distortions and perversions which so obviously afflict human society and are continually coercing peoples and nations into the very courses they most ardently desire to avoid.

A new self-consciousness. And—consequent upon it—a new political consciousness: that is what pacifism means. The pacifist's job is not to turn the old handle of political irresponsibility, but to permeate existing politics with a new sense of responsibility.

INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

By C. F. Andrews

THE news came over the radio and reached us here in Simla, in the heart of the Himalaya Mountains, that Dick Sheppard had passed to his rest and that his life of constant suffering and illness was ended.

I have before me the last letter he wrote to me, when I sent him a copy of a book on the North-West Frontier of India. It is so characteristic of him that I feel that I can share it with my readers, who loved him as I did. *Thank you, dear man, he wrote to me, quite immensely. Of course, I shall read every word of it, and it shall be reviewed in PEACE NEWS. I feel dreadful about the North-West Frontier. We are quite amazingly hypocritical on the whole unhappy matter. Bless you, and thank you for this fresh contribution to world peace. Yours affectionately, Dick.*

Each word of that letter brings him back to me, with his heart overflowing with love. Surely, of him the verse is abundantly true: "Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends." His utter and entire devotion to Him who spoke those words was the greatest thing in all his life.

The one tribute that we who loved him can pay to his memory is to carry on his work, and with this end in view I am sending from these glorious mountains (where I have been recovering from a very serious illness) some thoughts that have been urgently pressing upon me with regard to India and the world situation at the present time. For, in this pure mountain air, where all the world seems to stretch out before me, it becomes every day more evident and palpable that the *greatest peace issue before Great Britain must always be—India!*

Are we *really* intent upon giving freedom, or are we intent upon keeping India in subjection? Are we doing to her what we would wish her to do to us, if we were similarly placed? Are we doing over there, on the Frontier, the things that we are condemning others for doing in Europe and the Far East?

These terribly urgent questions have to be answered by anyone whose heart is wholly set on peace. We are rightly horrified at the air bombing of civilians. What about ourselves? If we say that we always "give notice" when we bomb villages on the North-West Frontier, we find that the Japanese have thrown leaflets down in China in the same manner. No doubt the Japanese people at home are reminded again and again that this is always done by the careful Japanese airmen.

I do not mean for a moment to imply that the destruction of life on the Frontier has been anything at all comparable with what we have seen in photographs of Nanking; for that would be utterly untrue, and such a thought has never entered my mind. *But what is true is this, that the principle is the same.* We bomb undefended villages in order to strike terror and destroy the morale of the tribesmen; and we make the same excuse which is made in Spain, and Abyssinia, and China.

War is hell, whether it is waged on the Frontier, or in Shanghai; and the ultimate question is this: "Why is war waged at all? Is

there no other way? I profoundly believe, as "Dick" believed, that Dr. Theodore Pennell's *Christian way* is the right way and the only way. But it has never been tried on the Frontier on any large scale.

We are rightly horrified, again, when we read the League of Nations Opium Report, with its disclosures as to how Japan has been doping with opium the northern provinces of China and making enormous profits out of it, so that ninety percent of the opium traffic of the world lies now in that region. All this is indeed horrible, yet we must ask ourselves, "What did we do to China a century ago?" We keep the centenary of the abolition of slavery; but we do not keep the centenary of our opium wars on China.

Again, we honestly hate to think today that Japan is assuming a "protectorate" over province after province in North China. Yet what did we do, after the second opium war? Why did we plant ourselves down, not only in Hong Kong, but also in Shanghai? Have we not set up "protectorates" in different parts of the world, and shown Japan the way to do it? Is not her excuse the very same as ours? Is not Japan, in all this, following our example and learning the lesson which we have taught her?

If we say truly, as we said about Abyssinia, "Yes, all that is true, but then we did those things long ago!" the answer of Germany, Italy, Japan, is surely this: "But you have *kept* all that you acquired in that way: yet now you object to our doing the same!"

Indeed, things have gone much further in their present argument even than that. For quite recently General von Epp, the acting President of the Colonial Association in the Third Reich, has suggested that Europe should now combine in order to retain possession of these conquered territories which have been acquired by the "white race."

"Before the War," he says, "the British Empire was 105 times as large as Great Britain; Belgium's colonial possessions over eighty times as great as the mother country; Holland's, sixty times; France's, 22 times."

Germany, he argues, must now be satisfied also if there is to be justice: and when we ask what he means by "justice" the answer is forthcoming in this realistic manner: "Above all," he writes, "the white race must strengthen Europe by union with Germany in the solution of political problems now being faced by the world. The sooner Germany's legal and moral claims to colonial territories are accepted, the sooner will she be able to contribute her share to the maintenance of European possessions throughout the world."

Thus he regards it a legal and moral thing to assert that, if Britain and France are ready to receive Germany with a close partnership in holding a grip on Africa and Asia, then the combined Powers may be able to maintain the supremacy of the "white race" over the "coloured races."

Does not such a naked and shameless suggestion as this horrify us, when we see it put down in cold print? If we are truly lovers of peace, as Dick Sheppard was, it ought to horrify and disgust us! For this would mean perpetual warfare to the end of time between the races which make up our one human society. Yet in South Africa, which is a part of the British Commonwealth, such a statement as General von Epp's would not horrify or disgust at all. It would seem a reasonable and feasible proposition.

Surely there is one who is watching all these things that are being done by so-called Christian nations: and He is saying to us, as He says to others, "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone."

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TAKING us to task for publishing facts illustrating the practical argument against an anti-Japanese boycott, "Watchman" writes in last week's Birmingham *Town Crier* (Labour weekly):

The real question is: Is it morally right for those who oppose aggression to help the aggressor?

But it is just on the moral plane that the argument for Britain's punishing of Japan is at its very weakest. Say it's logic if you like; but not moral. The people who stoned the woman caught in the very act of committing a crime told Jesus with (logical, if you like) indignation that she had committed a crime and therefore was to be punished. But the whole point of the incident was in Jesus's putting of the moral issue: "Let him who is without sin among you cast the first stone."

Meaningless

AS Wilfred Wellock says elsewhere in the same issue of the *Town Crier*,

Isn't Japan doing just what Britain and the U.S.A. have done so often in the past, and indeed quite recently? The U.S.A. preaches the Monroe doctrine, America for the Americans, while we hold on to a mighty chunk of territory in every continent. The answer to that position is Asia for the Asiatics, and thus Japanese aggression in China.

It is true the New York *Times*'s plan contains a useful phrase about America being willing to consider grievances.

(Continued on page 11, column 4)

No Man's Land

THE title of the first leading article in *The Times* last Saturday was "Land for Defence." The subject was the setting up of "some sort of inter-consultative machinery" between "the Defence Departments and the bodies, official or self-constituted, which guard other national interests."

The immediate cause for concern is the proposal by the War Office to establish an anti-aircraft training camp in a peculiarly beautiful bit of the country near Stiffkey in Norfolk. This desecration of Beauty by a gent. calling himself "Honour" has drawn forth a protest from Mr. Henry Williamson who, while he believes both in otters and in national defence, wants to rescue a tiny portion of the English countryside and its wild life.

Land for Defence! Land for Hope and Glory! Dean Swift, thou shouldst be living at this hour! You would see the Lilliputians first resolve to defend their green and pleasant land from the destruction that would overtake it in war by turning every portion of it where there is space enough for a green thing to grow, into a blast furnace or its military equivalent. Then they fall to cursing one another for the wanton destruction of (or inability to destroy) what they are mutually agreed must be destroyed in its own defence.

Next they propose to set up "inter-consultative machinery" between those who—while they agree that the green land must be made an armament battlefield in the cause of Honour—differ as to where Mr. Honour should pitch his camp.

The final picture is of a patch of grass (last remnant of a public park) dedicated to Beauty. It is completely surrounded by barbed wire and has an A.R.P. dug-out below it. Above, a ring of barrage balloons rises from the wire-entanglement like a pillar of smoke ascending to the stratosphere but falling considerably short of Heaven itself. And all the park notices—other than those saying "Keep off the Grass"—are inscribed "This Way to Democracy."

"Those whom the gods wish to destroy they first deprive of their reason." The sacrifice now demanded for war outbids the greatest sacrifice demanded for peace; for those who are determined that, at all costs, they will have their cake and eat it, must yield up their sanity with their common sense. If anyone doubts this, let him read *Hansard's* report of the recent A.R.P. debates in both Houses of Parliament or take a critical glance at an article in *The Spectator* telling of the A.R.P. goings-on at Southampton.

That these things are no laughing matter is perhaps their final horror; but that those who can foresee the faintest shadow of the dangers following upon complete national self-deception should bestir themselves—that they should, if possible, prevent England's green and pleasant land from turning itself into the land of Sodom and Gomorrah is now necessary.

M.P.

A Weekly Commentary

LOOKING BEFORE AND AFTER

By J. Middleton Murry

THE more luminously certain it appears to me to be that pacifism is the only way out of the stagnation and deathwards retrogression in which civilization is caught, the more evident it also appears that pacifism must at some point make the extreme demand upon us—the demand for a total sacrifice. Pacifism is, indeed, the only way out; but it is not an easy way out. On the contrary, because it is the only way out, it is a very difficult way out. That conviction, which is with me a matter rather of moral intuition than of rational calculation, satisfies indeed my imagination, which is an impersonal mode of comprehension, but is disquieting to the mortal man in me. And I sometimes feel that I am continually being solicited to look toward the end of a path of suffering of a kind which I doubt whether I can bear: which indeed I am certain I cannot bear except by the grace of God.

This, I shall be told, is morbid. I do not think it is. Its effects (as I interpret them) belong not to the pathological but to the religious order: and if there are any of my readers who share the widespread modern view that the religious is the pathological, I would suggest to them that they should spend a few moments every day trying honestly to make real to their imaginations the kind of situation in which a resolute adherence to the Peace Pledge may involve them in the nationalist society of today, under stress of modern war. The only historical parallel my mind suggests is the Neronian persecution of the early Christians as reported by Tacitus: when the crime imputed to them was "hatred of the human race." Whether such things will happen, God knows. I do not. But that such things may happen in this modern world, where the thin barrier between humanity and blind savagery wears thinner every day, until it is become almost transparent—of that I have no doubt at all: nor that, if the diabolical thing once breaks loose, the crime of the pacifist will be the old crime of the Christian—"hatred of the human race."

Therefore I confess that when I think of these things I am afraid. I am not perpetually afraid: on the contrary, the fear visits me but seldom, or remains for but a little while. It is mostly transformed into something quite different, which I call faith. There is fear in faith, or faith would be an empty and superficial thing; but faith transforms fear, at all times. And sometimes when, we know not how, faith itself is as it were consumed by love, there is no fear at all. But such moments are rare; and faith (in my language) is the condition in which real love and real fear are both acknowledged and at one. I am afraid, however, that the love and the fear I am talking about have little or nothing at all to do with the conditions for which those words were used by Professor Karin Stephen in the passage from her lecture which I discussed last week. We speak a different language, and are aware of different realities.

Yet though the realities I am discussing under these names seem to me the essential realities of pacifism, I would not for one moment suggest that the object of pacifism is anything other than the absolutely simple one of preventing war, by any means which does not involve the pacifist in participation in war. Modern pacifism will have failed if it does not become a determinant influence in preventing another war. Something else—something indeed essential to pacifism—may endure through the horror of war; but pacifism itself will have failed if that disaster comes. *Sanguis martyrum semen ecclesiae*: the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church, no doubt. But to contemplate the Church of pacifism across the abyss of futurity is no compensation for a holocaust of humanity now. And sometimes I doubt whether another Church can ever be raised from the blood of martyrs again, and surmise that that chapter in the history of mankind may be closed for ever, and that the possibility of a new chapter depends rather on what the Church, which has been raised from the blood of the martyrs, has courage now to do.

I think that, if I could do, or help to do, one simple thing I should be a happy man. And that simple thing is to convince all pacifists that their place today is within the Church. Yet the moment I write the words, I feel that it is a superhuman task. Yet, since I believe it to be true, I must say that I believe that today, as never before, "Religion is Politics," and that if men cannot practically unite in the love and worship of Christ, they will never be able really to unite for pacifism; or rather, their unity, lacking the imaginative convergence, the imaginative *experience* of being members one with another, will not stand the test of trial. Pacifism, many of us agree, needs discipline; and even one so naturally reluctant in this matter as Mr. Aldous Huxley goes further now and declares that it needs religious discipline. But the further step that it needs Christian discipline may be hard to take. Yet I believe that it is necessary; and that it does not in the least involve abandoning the truth that is asserted in Blake's proposition that "All religions are One," though it does involve the perception that we can be universal only by being particular. Christianity is our mode of acknowledging and experiencing the unity of mankind.

Again, I do not think that the P.P.U. can simply make Dick Sheppard the symbol of its unity and remain at that point. It is dangerous even to try to do that, for it may easily lead to a sort of apotheosis of him. It is imperative, rather, to work in the opposite direction, and to see him as a fallible man, beset by human limitations, and struggling in a situation which made inevitable a profound conflict within him. If we desire to retain him as the immediate fountain-head of our unity, then it is imperative that we should look beyond him to the figure at whom he looked. Then we shall not be tempted to endow him with a false perfection—to which he would have been the last to lay claim. Let us beware of betraying him by "loyalty," instead of fulfilling him by love.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Personalities at the League

A MIRROR TO GENEVA: Its Growth, Grandeur and Decay. George Slocum. Jonathan Cape. 10s. 6d.

MR. SLOCOMBE has written a vivid book, tracing the history of the League of Nations from the idealism of Woodrow Wilson, through the high-water marks of Germany's entry and the spirit of Locarno, to the failure to check the aggression of Japan and Italy.

The book consists of penetrating studies of all the politicians who have played important roles in the dramas and melodramas at Geneva—studies which are so full of intimate detail that the souls of the peacemakers are revealed.

There is, however, with this light, informative, and picturesque style of writing, some lack of balance, and certain inaccuracies. The entry of Germany produced but a mild enthusiasm; the remark that the League staff has "a very sincere international spirit" is startling to one who has worked there. Nevertheless *A Mirror to Geneva* is a valuable and entertaining study. The illustrations by Kelen are amusing but lack distinction.

F.N.H.

Hikers' Holiday

TWO'S COMPANY. Raoul. Stockwell. 3s.

A simple account of a hikers' holiday in the Black Forest.

In the course of their wanderings the author and his wife renewed acquaintance with at least one German ex-officer who, as a prisoner of war, had been confined in a camp in England where Raoul had been officer-interpreter. They met with

To Keep Fit, Abolish War

A TOPICAL touch inspires the latest leaflet issued by the Peace Pledge Union.

The "Keep Fit" campaign provides the theme, it being urged that the best way to keep people fit is to prevent them from being blown to bits in a war.

This single sheet leaflet, which has two illustrations, can be had for 4s. per 1,000 from the P.P.U., 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

much kindness and, entering Germany across the Rhine Bridge at Strasbourg, were forcibly struck with the contrast between Germany's tidiness and France's lack of order and organization.

A good book for intending hikers, not devoid of interest to the general reader. But rather irritating on account of the author's over plentiful use of German and French words between inverted commas. R.S.

A. LESLIE JARRATT

Motor Engineer

Churchfield Ave., Finchley, N. 12

will be pleased to have the opportunity of servicing your car

NEW AND SECOND-HAND CARS SUPPLIED

London Members phone HILLSIDE 2744 to arrange for collection

Books from Abroad FOR CHILDREN—

A MONG the stream of books on peace that comes from the publishers of Britain alone in the course of a year, comparatively few are suitable for children.

But unless would-be peacemakers devote some attention to the ideas put before children there is no guarantee that another generation will not grow up cherishing the very illusions which have led its predecessors into war. For this reason great importance attaches to books for children.

From an American publisher has come *Broken Guns*, a book written for children by Mrs. Eleanor H. Brainard, which has much to commend it. It presents, largely in story form, a wealth of facts, stated simply, and dealing with such topics as:

Why we have wars;
If we didn't have armies;
A better way than fighting, and
When nations work together.

Many an adult pacifist would find the book useful for the information it gives, while for children its value is enhanced by illustrations by Louise E. Jefferson. It is published by the Friendship Press, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City, U.S.A., price \$1.00, and is suitable for children from nine to twelve years of age, and for leaders of groups of children of this age.

The same publishers have also produced recently *Ship East—Ship West*, by Elizabeth Miller Lobingier, which is a shorter book written from a very similar angle.

— AND ADULTS

First in a series entitled "Study and Action" is a booklet, *World Peace and Christian Missions*, by Harold E. Fey, a former missionary in the Philippine Islands and executive secretary of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation. (This series also is published by the Friendship Press).

He shows how the first real world community is coming into being. Its great enemy is, of course, war.

After discussing the "rival religions" of Christianity and nationalism, whether missions are "cultural imperialism," and the promotion of understanding, he concludes by putting the alternative now before humanity as "chaos or Christ."

In this last section the solution is reduced to the realm of hard facts. This makes the booklet particularly valuable, for pacifism is increasingly challenged today as being unpractical.

For the benefit of leaders of groups using the pamphlet as the basis of study and discussion, an appendix is given containing questions intended to

Radio

PACIFISTS START A LISTENING GROUP

By "ARIEL"

SINCE writing the notes on listening groups which appeared in last week's PEACE NEWS, I have discovered that Blackheath members of the Peace Pledge Union are forming such a group.

They suggest that the idea might appeal to pacifists elsewhere. I am certain this can be a valuable means of putting the pacifist case to people likely to be interested, and shall be glad to hear of any other pacifists who are taking up the idea.

Another suggestion that has been made, in connexion with the series on "The Way to Peace," is for P.P.U. groups to delegate one person to listen each week and to give a report at the next group meeting. This could be followed by a short discussion.

open discussion on the various chapters. Moreover, they are designed "to bring out differences of opinion and to prevent people from accepting too uncritically the point of view of the author"!

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT

Many peace workers on this side of the Atlantic have had cause to thank the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (or, rather, its Division of Intercourse and Education) for its monthly publication, *International Conciliation*, which reprints in full recent statements, documents, &c., concerning foreign affairs, often unobtainable elsewhere.

Facts about the Carnegie Endowment itself, and reports from its various divisions, are given in the *Year Book*, 1937, which it has just published from its Washington headquarters.

An Anthology from France

Sixty-two pacifists have contributed to the *Anthologie des Ecrivains Pacifistes* which has been collected together by Jean Souvenance. Most of them are French, and all the contributions are in that language with the exception of those by Jessie Wallace Hughan, A. Ruth Fry, and W. A. Rathkey.

The variety of the contents assures useful reading for the pacifist seeking contact with the thoughts of his comrades abroad. The book is obtainable from Jean Souvenance, "Ar Peuc'h," Le Tertre Aubé, Saint-Brieuc (Côtes-du-Nord), France, price 15 francs.

For the benefit of French pacifists staying in England a copy has been placed in the library of the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

Let's hold a Meeting—2

PRINTING

ASSUMING you have already booked a hall (as suggested in last week's PEACE NEWS), printing is the next point to consider, and here are some hints:

Printer.—It is advisable to choose a local printer, and firstly to find out his views on pacifism. A printer who is sympathetic toward our work is one of a group's best assets. Have estimates from several printers before making a decision.

Posters.—Crown or double-crown size posters are most suitable, the former being smaller, and better suited for windows and notice boards, while the double-crown size is the thing for hoardings and sandwich boards. When ordering, order plenty and so prevent the heavy expense involved when more are needed after the type has been taken down.

Handbills.—Remember that quantity pays. Handbills are useful for last-minute publicity. If a whole group is working on the meeting 5,000 should not be too many.

Proofs.—Get several sets from your printer, check them carefully and send one set to be passed by the chairman, as a mis-spelt name is a frequent cause of trouble.

Prints.—When explaining to the printer how you want your posters set out, try to get him to resort to one kind of type. Allocate one-third of the space to any special point you want to "get across," i.e., a striking slogan, or speaker's name. Remember to put **Admission Free** at the foot and keep any other information as brief as possible. One point to bear in mind—it is **clear space** that counts in making an attractive poster.

Next week: **Publicity.**

Drama

A NATIVITY PLAY

A nativity play by Richard Whitwell has been published under the title *Gold and Frankincense* (1s. 6d.).

There are six scenes besides a prologue, an interlude, and an epilogue. The characters number 29.

The fee payable for each performance is 10s. 6d., payable in advance to the publishers, the C. W. Daniel Co. Ltd., 40 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1, to whom application for permission should be made.

The programme which "Units of Service" all over the world hope to follow until May, 1939, is discussed in a pamphlet entitled *The Second Three Years*, and obtainable from the English "Unit of Service," 38 Broadwater Down, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

Literature explaining the aims of a movement to recruit volunteers for an international police force is obtainable from the International Police Force Volunteers, 4 Castle Street, Oxford.

"...at last the right book has been written"

THE HEART

The Prevention and Cure of Cardiac Conditions

By JAMES C. THOMSON

[Thomson, 5s. 6d.]

A. S. Neill writes—"...the most optimistic book I have read on any medical subject... I wish I could give away a million copies." From a Medical Doctor:—"...I feel that at last the right book has been written... the needs of both patient and practitioner are supplied." *Health & Life* Editorial:—"...combining sound physiology, sound reasoning, sound psychology and sound instruction... has its roots firmly in the strong soil of observation, technical knowledge and experience."

From all Booksellers, or 3s. 10d. by post from E.S.N.T., 11 Drumsheugh Gardens, Edinburgh, 3.

A VIG

by

said Herr Le an old fool; not such a bri were inclined his admirers, from afar b village knew

The oldest however, coul had said tha Vienna, but confirmed tha tant, like all very old. Y that made He village. Every be missed if I take the case

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Everyone kr war robbed Lenartz. How Carl had gone. future.

But why thi one but He Indeed, there ar and no flowers spirit and the that is peace.

Listen again, but from a ten strains of musi and bewildered also is peace.

GENEVA I

Bristol Youth offering a prize the best essay b the district on from the broad to Peace."

Particulars ar Secretary, Cote Westbury-on-Tr

A VIGNETTE OF PEACE

by Eric Buss

OF course there were the cynics, those that said Herr Lenartz was a hermit and an old fool; those that said he was not such a brilliant musician as people were inclined to think. There were his admirers, too. They admired from afar because nobody in the village knew him intimately.

The oldest inhabitant, whose word, however, could not always be taken, had said that he had come from Vienna, but Herr Lenartz had not confirmed that, and the oldest inhabitant, like all oldest inhabitants, was very old. Yet there was something that made Herr Lenartz unique in the village. Everyone knew that he would be missed if he ever left. Moreover, take the case of young Carl.

Carl was Herr Lenartz's favourite pupil, and a very fine pianist. For the last three years Carl had played to the village at musical festivals and the music master used to stand by watching proudly. Carl, it was agreed, would have a great future.

Then take Herr Lenartz's little cottage. Visitors to the village would stop and admire the garden and the neatness and cleanliness of it all. Such a charming little cottage with casement curtains. Yes, there was something about Herr Lenartz.

★
JUST outside the village

from the hill one could obtain a magnificent view of typical German country stretching away to the north, to cities, to civilization (as the cynics were apt to say), places like Berlin. Berlin at this time, the summer of 1914, was in ferment, and little did Herr Lenartz realize as he sat on the bench on the hill, as he did every evening; little indeed did anyone realize.

Herr Lenartz was content and at peace—the peace of music, the peace of his garden, of the village, and of himself. Listen to the strains of Beethoven and Chopin, with which the music-master ends his day, seated at his piano, now as then in the village before the discord.

Everyone knows, of course. The war robbed the village of Herr Lenartz. How could he stay when Carl had gone. Yes, that was Carl's future.

But why this sad note? Carl has gone but Herr Lenartz remains. Indeed, there are no casement curtains and no flowers in the garden, but the spirit and the struggle is there and that is peace.

Listen again, not from the cottage, but from a tenement in Berlin to the strains of music, perhaps a little sad and bewildered. But listen; for this also is peace.

GENEVA TRIP AS PRIZE

Bristol Youth Peace Assembly is offering a prize of a trip to Geneva for the best essay by any young person in the district on some subject arising from the broadcast talks on "The Way to Peace."

Particulars are obtainable from the Secretary, Cote Grange, Cote Lane, Westbury-on-Trym.

CHRISTIANS, AWAKE!

is the moral of this
true story by
George Williams

WE gather for our
second meeting, when one man is to
give a short talk on a subject of his
own choice.

He is keenly interested in current affairs, and is also curious about pacifism. The title of his talk is: **What should we expect from the Church?**

He divides these expectations into three parts:—political, social, and individual. His talk is interesting, and suggestive rather than comprehensive. He says that we need guidance in all departments of our lives.

After he has finished the discussion does not get going very well. Some say, "What church are you talking about?" others "What is the Church?" and so on.

He is told that he has opened up too large a field, and he had better say which line he wishes the discussion to take. **He then tells us that he had the question of war in mind, and that we could usefully talk about the political aspect of things.**

At this point I state quite definitely that unless the political differences of Europe are soon settled amicably, then our social and individual lives will be of little moment, and that the Church has made war a Christian institution.

I am immediately told that the annual conference of our particular denomination has already settled that question and each man has to think it out for himself and act accordingly.

Whilst a few pious platitudes are being aired I think of young lads of sixteen and upward thinking it out for themselves, their only guidance being the nationalistic daily press and all the other influences which suggest that our country must come before everything.

I think of my young days when propaganda came in a stream from pulpit, platform, and press to persuade me to try to end war by war, and how this propaganda succeeded. How I had tried to end this evil by more evil and failed.

BUT it seems that a real live discussion is about to commence, that some of those present are going to hear the gospel of pacifism

for the first time. Alas, our friend the minister chips in.

He is afraid that opinions are so sharply divided on this thorny question that heat may be engendered if it is carried any further. Our other two signatories who are present are silent before this rebuke, and he calmly proceeds to say that we can best focus our attention on what we expect from the church by tackling the question of Sunday games or some similar issue.

At this point I realize in a flash that I am a fool to expect much from the Church. That here in a nutshell is the attitude of the Christian churches of all lands: a careful, fearful, hesitant attitude, afraid to face the big issues, and content to quibble about some secondary thing like Sunday games.

I think of the permission given by the churches for work on the land to be done on the Sabbath, of the things which were done on the Western Front on the Sabbath. My mind wanders to that famous sermon which was preached to Earl Haig from the text "Ye are fellow-workers with God" whilst the battle of the Somme was raging on a Sunday.

I realize that the churches will expect their members to be ready to go and kill the Christians of other lands whenever governments give the word, and wonder what Christ would have said had he been present in the flesh in such a group.

We must thank God for the faithful few who have seen the light, and are not hiding it under a bushel.

Peace Pledge Union

Developments in Devon

MEMBERS of the Peace Pledge Union in Devonshire are getting busy, and our correspondent in Newton Abbott reports:—

Appointment of E. C. Maddox, 39 Manor Road, Newton Abbott, as area organizer for Devonshire; Probable area conference next month, particulars to be circulated shortly;

Probable formation soon of new groups in Teignmouth and Dartington Hall, Totnes;

Great peace rally in Torquay, Totnes, and Newton Abbott on January 29 and 30 (see back page).

In addition, Newton Abbott group reports holding a successful meeting last week, when Mr. W. B. Curry put the case for the abolition of war in a way that was accepted by non-members and members as unanswerable.

Six members of this group are meeting six members of the League of Nations Union in the People's Service Centre on January 28, for a general talk.

ARE YOU

a pacifist? Then why not live amongst peace lovers? Concord is a strictly vegetarian and international guest house, conveniently situated for the West End. Table tennis. From 52s. 6d. week. Students' cubicles, with board, 35s. No irritating extras. Phone BAY. 0736. Mrs. F. E. Morgan, 23 Pembridge Villas, London, W.11

CONCORD HOUSE



Do You Hear Them, Master? is the title of this cartoon by Arthur Wragg.

one of the rules laid down for our guidance. I am invited to join this group, and find that there are three others, who like myself, have signed the peace pledge.

I feel sure that we shall be able to discuss the burning question of the Christian's attitude toward war, and that some of the members may be enlightened.

I know that some of them, although professing Christians, are prepared to support the selfish nationalism which is abroad in the world today, and that though they are over forty they would undoubtedly support the next war to end war—in the same way as the older men did last time. I make it clear to all with whom I come in contact that I am a member of the P.P.U.; the new minister is also aware of this.

SIGNPOSTS FROM HISTORY

showing how

VICTORY BY WAR

leads to

MORE WAR

1807. The French, under Napoleon I, defeated the Prussians and imposed upon them a humiliating treaty, taking away one-third of their territory and reducing their army to 42,000 men.

1813-15. The Prussians, having reorganized their country and secretly rearmed, helped to liberate Germany from the French and to defeat Napoleon I at the Battle of Waterloo.

S.D.U.

IDEAS FOR ACTION

How to Spread the Pacifist Message

3. Writing to your members.

BEFORE undertaking any regular activity, local branches of any organization generally need to marshal their forces.

The following questionnaire was found very useful by the secretary of a newly-formed Peace Pledge Union group in finding out the abilities, &c., of his members:

1. Are you able and willing to take an active part in the work? If so, what time can you afford?

2. Can you undertake any of the following?—

Typewriting (state if own machine); duplicating; clerical work; canvassing; stewarding at meetings; distributing literature; street-selling of PEACE NEWS; regular distribution of PEACE NEWS to members; delivering circulars; organizing socials, debates, rambles, or any other form of recreation or entertainment.

3. Do you wish to join the following?—

Study and discussion group; speaker's class; dramatic society for presenting pacifist plays.

4. Can you offer facilities in your own home for any of the above?

5. Will you attend and support the following?—

Socials, dances, whist drives, rambles, public meetings, lectures, concerts.

6. Will you take and sell tickets for any of the above?

7. Are you able to address meetings, or lecture on any subject of interest to members? If so, please indicate subjects.

8. Will you help in the following?— Asking for specific pacifist books in public library; displaying pacifist window-bills; writing to newspapers.

9. Can you arrange for addresses by members to other organizations?

10. Do you want PEACE NEWS delivered regularly?

11. Have you a motor-car or motorcycle which you are prepared to use for our work if required?

12. Is there any other suggestion you can make for advancing our objects, or any subject which you would like to see taken up?

13. Can you make a small weekly contribution to local expenses (even 1d. per week given regularly is of great help)? If so, when would you like it collected? (This is entirely voluntary. Please do not hesitate to answer the other questions if you cannot afford any contribution.)

The Main Object

I was sorry to see in the issue of December 25 that Lord Ponsonby is to cease writing his articles every week for PEACE NEWS, for he always displayed such a sane and balanced point of view.

There is a tendency for some pacifists to concentrate on minor issues which may seem important to them but which are of only very secondary importance. The main object for pacifists at the moment is to go on with the work of winning round progressive thought to a pacifist position.

Pacifism is, I think, primarily an individual and personal way of life, but it is also a practical policy which has considerable chance of success in the long run. But we must not be carried away by unbalanced optimism, we must realize the terrible dangers and difficulties before us and, above all, we must not relax our efforts to end rearmament and the disastrous policy pursued by our present government.

RHYS BELL
8 Birchington Road, Crouch End, N.8.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to the pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

LETTERS

CHILDREN

ARNOLD KNEBEL and P. Lamartine Yates (PEACE NEWS, January 1) disagree with Max Plowman's suggestion that pacifists should spend their money on giving their children a good education when there are children "many of whom would benefit more from it than their own."

If the children of pacifists are well educated they will be better equipped for carrying on pacifism than if they have no university education. Surely pacifists can benefit the world more by fitting their children to become leaders in the pacifist movement than by sacrificing them because all others cannot share the privilege of a university education.

Arnold Knebel and P. Lamartine Yates feel, no more strongly than I do, the injustice of some children's receiving a university education while others, who perhaps would benefit more by a good education, have to earn their own livings at fourteen, but I do not see the advantage of pacifists depriving their own children of a good start in life because of this. If all cannot be well educated this is no reason why all should be ignorant.

MAY HUDSON.

48 Lennox Road, Gravesend.

Politics

Our answer to the question put to us by the chairman of the Christian Pacifist Party (PEACE NEWS, December 18) is that we would try by constant endeavour and permeation to change the policy of the Labour Party.

Does not his query seem to imply that the Labour Party is beyond conversion? Surely it is not, and we cannot say that it is until we have tried. This, in our opinion, can best be done from inside.

Support for pacifism is only coming from the progressive vote. By creating another party we should only succeed in splitting this vote and, by so doing, let the reactionary parties gain power, thereby retarding the cause of pacifism.

L. SUTTON,
Secretary, Islington Group
Peace Pledge Union.

43 Waterlow Road, London, N.19.

You published a letter of mine (December 18) pointing out that pacifists can find political expression within the Liberal Party. I have received several letters in agreement which, however, question whether the Liberal Party stands for peace and against war.

An informed liberal knows full well that a Liberal Government would strive its utmost for peace, not by the altruistic method of unilateral disarmament but by the liberal policy of practical friendship toward all nations, expressed in free trade, free emigration, and peace treaties, and by educating popular opinions at home to overcome our insularity and our feeling of race superiority.

We liberals do not believe that the redistribution of the world's wealth would abolish war, but we do believe that all people should be able to enjoy that wealth and, what is more, fit themselves to enjoy and not abuse it.

In short, we believe war is an effect and we would attack the causes and so abolish the idea of war for ever.

JOHN PURSAILL.
The Dolmens,
Duston, Northampton.

AN EMERGENCY JOB

PHILIP MUMFORD'S article in PEACE NEWS of January 1 is so important that I feel that I must do what I have long intended to do, viz.: compliment you upon the amazing efficiency with which you hold the balance amongst the equally well-meaning, equally sincere, and almost equally narrow-minded groups which are all sure that their own special nostrum needs to be added to the P.P.U. pledge in order to make the thing work.

To be frank, though I am a practical and thoughtful pacifist of 25 years' standing, and now nearing fifty years of age, your activity, PEACE NEWS, is the only one of all the pacifist activities that I entirely agree with: and all the money that I can spare I mean to devote to putting PEACE NEWS into the hands of as many folk as possible.

I am one of those wretched, all-round-minded, tame-spirited chickens that at the moment desire nothing so much as to put off war for five, ten, twenty, or forty years.

I believe that the main thing to aim at is to get mankind out of the bad habit of war, to give people time to see its cruelty and futility, and, if I dare say so, to give armaments time to become (as they soon will) so grotesquely dangerous and costly that something will have to be done about it. I believe that these ends can best be furthered by raising as few moral, economic, political, and religious questions as possible.

It makes me tired to read how important it is for us all to become "this-minded" or "that-minded" or to have a "complete turnover in our hearts and minds": it just will not happen in the given time. So if the avoidance of destruction and the setting up of conditions in which the benevolent and intelligent minority can fertilize the neutral, vaguely well-meaning, but hopelessly mutton-headed mob—if this, I say, is not worth having or cannot be had in the absence of a "change of heart," then the thing is indeed hopeless.

PEACE NEWS seems to me to provide exactly the intelligent and emotional (but not sentimental) publicity that does immense good and no harm. So please continue to be guided in your probably vexatious as well as onerous duties by the pledge, the pledge only, nothing more and nothing less.

And do not allow ill-mannered enthusiasts to call one another names for "doing the right thing but for the wrong reason." It merely sets up strife and does no good: such zealots would soon make a world as intolerable as this one.

All my pacifist contributions are to be given to your work and to no other branch of peace activity at all—though I wish good luck to those who think and act otherwise—I try not to be so uncharitable to them as they think it right to be to me.

friendship which we offer is constructive. Our aim should be not merely a temporary relief of suffering, but through our concern and continual encouragement, to help families to help themselves.

Above all things we should encourage a joint effort, so that we do not damage self-respect but stimulate its growth. Linked with the Care Committee we shall be in a position to know the deepest needs of the family and the best ways in which those needs may be met.

I should be glad to give further information concerning the work of School Care Committees to anyone interested.

MARJORIE POUSTY.
2 Langbourne Avenue,
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PACIFISM IN WAR TIME

Wilfred Wellock's view (concluded)

IT goes without saying that in the case of air raids, &c., every pacifist would jump to and render every possible assistance.

But pacifists should not lose sight of the fact that prevention is better than cure, and thus that even from the standpoint of human suffering it is more important to try to stop a war than to accept it and devote oneself to ambulance work.

After all, wars have got to be stopped, wild passion checked, panic prevented, the wells of poison purified. Work of this kind is the most difficult of all war work, and requires the most courage, but it is a kind of activity which, in my opinion, pacifists ought to undertake.

It is significant that when Jesus met the hostile crowd armed with swords and staves after leaving the Garden of Gethsemane, and one of His disciples seized a sword and smote off the ear of one of the high priests, one observer stated that He healed the ear and then admonished the crowd, while another observer noted that He severely rebuked the disciple, thus preventing what might otherwise have developed into a bloody affray.

I am fully aware that in his third article Philip Mumford says:—

Let us also from the declaration of war propagate the terms of a just peace settlement for the termination of the particular conflict—and the avoidance of future ones.

but in view of his leading sentence, in the same article, *viz.* :—

Let the pacifist organizations and their members decide that when war comes the whole of their strength will be used to alleviate human suffering. . . . It is obvious that he regards this as a perfunctory function and not as a duty which would demand much time or sacrifice.

To that view I have ventured to put an alternative, and, as I envisage the situation in another war, the need for action along the lines I have indicated would, I am convinced, make bigger demands upon pacifists than they could meet, for besides the public work that would be involved by these proposals, a large number of workers would be required to communicate with groups all over the country, to give them information, advice, instruction, and also to hearten and encourage them.

* * * *

But in my opinion there is another serious flaw in Philip Mumford's proposals. In the same article as that already quoted he says:

We should inform both the Government and the country of our plans. . . .

Now that, to my mind, would be fatal, for were the Government to feel assured that once war started all opposition to the war by the Peace Pledge Union would at once cease and that the entire P.P.U. organization would be devoted to the alleviation of suffering (that is, to general ambulance work), the road to war would be made much easier.

The knowledge that a declaration of war, and war itself, is going to be strongly resisted, is without question one of the most powerful preventative of war today.

Why, then, should we remove that preventative as we should do were we to take the course suggested? If the P.P.U. continues its present rate of growth, it may well be that its exist-

"PRECAUTIONS" THAT WON'T WORK

Harmful Effect on Young Minds Admitted

EXPERIMENTS carried out by the Cambridge Scientists' Anti-War Group were described by John Humphrey at the opening session of the Inter-Schools Peace Federation two-day conference held in Friends House, London, last week.

An attempt was made, he said, to deal with an incendiary bomb, using the implements advocated by the Air Raid Precautions Department.

Although the bomb employed in the experiment was small, the glare was so great that it was impossible to see exactly where the bomb was and it could not be picked up with the long-handled shovel.

Dark glasses were then worn and the bomb was located—but it was now impossible to see the bucket into which the bomb was to be dropped!

ence will constitute the most powerful war preventative this country possesses. That power would vanish were it to proceed as Philip Mumford advises.

In my view the road to war ought to be made the most difficult of all roads. Hence I think the policy of the P.P.U. ought to be framed with a view to making a declaration of war the most difficult of all decisions and, indeed, too difficult to be taken.

Then I must confess to a certain uneasiness of mind when Philip Mumford states that

It will, of course, be more difficult for the Government to prosecute or persecute us if we are engaged on activities of which the whole population must approve, instead of merely engaged in open conflict with the authorities in their futile attempts to "protect" their citizens.

I wonder if it is necessary to give consideration to such matters? The moment we begin to make the test of our conduct whether or not it will lead to persecution, we shall become demoralized and do nothing that is really worth doing. Surely all along the line our business will be to decide what we ought to do in order to stop the war, by suggesting courageous peace gestures, &c.; to prevent the adoption of the more diabolical war methods; to preserve as many as possible of the things that are vital to our civilization, including democracy and individual liberty.

I am aware that Philip Mumford hastens to add, "Pacifists will not be doing it for this reason, however." But why mention it? Unhappily such considerations come into play soon enough, in war time, without being invited.

Also my war experience convinces me that the Government would be only too glad to allow P.P.U. members to go about their ambulance work unmolested, providing they declined to take part "in open conflict with the authorities." But I see nothing in that situation to give one comfort.

Besides, what would be the effect of the P.P.U. taking this course upon those pacifists who felt they must act on the lines I have suggested as an alternative? Would it not lead to their being very severely handled by the Government, simply because they were in a hopeless minority who had not the sympathy and support of their fellow-pacifists?

Finally, in case the workers decided to meet a declaration of war with a down-tools policy, would Philip Mumford support them, or not?

I am glad that Philip Mumford has expressed himself so frankly upon this very complex and highly controversial question, and I know he will be equally glad that I have expressed another view with the same candour.

Although this case is typical of the ineffectiveness of most of the air raid "precautions" now being suggested, the Board of Education has just issued instructions about "Air Raid Precautions in Schools." In these the harmful effect of "precautions" on children's minds is virtually admitted, for it is stated that

It is undesirable that any practice or preparatory instruction of school children in peace time should be undertaken which might have adverse psychological or other effects on them or the general public.

While making this admission, however, the Board's circular says that

All school children will be provided, in emergency, by the Government with respirators which they will carry with them to and from school.

Moreover, they "will have opportunities to become familiar with the use of respirators under the arrangements made for other members of the family." **And how is that to be stopped from having an "adverse psychological effect"?** The answer, presumably, does not concern the Board of Education, as "arrangements made for other members of the family" concern the Home Office.

PROGRESS OF A.R.P.

The progress being made with these "arrangements" has just formed the subject of a series of articles in *The Times*. Under the heading "Defence against the bomber—How far have we got?" that newspaper's special correspondent had virtually to answer "Not far."

"Generally," he wrote on Monday, the scheme "is working badly." Differences in the public interest in different areas, he said, were "partly due to ignorance, partly to political influences."

The success or the failure of the new Air Raid Precautions Act will be the test of the "voluntary" system of organization, he thinks. Dr. J. D. Bernal, of the Cambridge Scientists' Anti-War Group, reviews that Act in the current number of *Peace*, and stresses the importance of the action taken in the next few months.

CANNOT PREVENT CASUALTIES

"The plans for the protection of the civil population are only subordinate to military ends," added Dr. Bernal. His assertion is borne out by comments on the new Act (before it became law) in *The Aeroplane*. There it was frankly admitted that

Air raid precautions schemes cannot prevent air raids, nor can they prevent casualties and damage if any raiders get through our active defences.

A second article in *The Times* declared that the A.R.P. officer knows "in his heart of hearts that the problem is a military one."

There is only one policy that stands any chance of preventing air raids. It is for this country to disarm, dispense with air raid "precautions," and to announce its readiness to lead in removing the causes of war. Should any nation even then decide to attack Britain, there would be no need for it to take measures to put our defence out of action or break the will for war of the civil population (chief reasons for air raids today).

Parts of Lord Arnold's speech during the debate on air raid "precautions" in the House of Lords have been reprinted in a pamphlet obtainable, price 2d., from the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1. It is amongst the most effective propaganda on the subject which has been published.

Platform Pars

(Continued from page 7, column 1)

Our Government says the same thing; and so does British Labour. But unless we are all prepared to say right out that Monroe doctrines are to go by the board, that we are ready to end our colonial empires, our closed-in empire trade systems, forthwith and to make definite proposals now, these paper declarations are devoid of all meaning.

The National Council of Labour is discussing the boycott policy in Brussels today with the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labour and Socialist International.

How It's Done

A FEW "stills" from the arms race "movie":—

An exchange of technical information between the British and French Air Forces is to take place in London in the near future. It is the expressed desire of both Governments to work in the closest cooperation in all military, naval, and air matters affecting the two countries.—*Daily Telegraph*, December 21, 1937.

The announcement of an agreement for an exchange of information between the British and French aircraft industries is a straw which, in the German view, shows only too plainly the way the wind is blowing.—*Times*, report from Berlin, December 24, 1937.

These proposed additions to the Italian Fleet (including two big battleships) cannot be said to be unexpected, but coming at the present moment their announcement is well timed to support Italian diplomacy in Budapest, where Count Ciano, the Foreign Minister, is expected to make a determined effort next week to detach Austria and Hungary from the group of States devoted to the support of the League and bring them more into line with the Rome-Berlin axis.—*Times*, January 8.

"The European equilibrium has been entirely upset," said the French paper *Epoche*, commenting on this failure of the Italians to understand that in a race all competitors must move forward an equal distance and at the same time. It is actually "thought" that this move "will only result in increased building by the other great naval countries," and "the general opinion is that Britain will make an immediate reply."

Other Steps

THE new Italian naval construction programme compels the French Government to consider whether they should not either redistribute available credits between the national defence Ministries or else increase the total sum to be spent on armaments in the next two years.—*Times*, January 10.

Just to show that, whatever our next step, we have not been lagging behind in the arms race,

It was learned last night that the first-line strength of the R.A.F. is now more than twice what it was when the expansion programme began in the middle of 1935. The first-line establishment was then stated to be 580 aircraft.—*Manchester Guardian*, January 11.

It has already been announced that Yugoslavia will increase her arms expenditure by 11% in 1938, making a record expenditure; and proposals by the President of the U.S.A. for further armament were made known this week.

LATE NEWS

Hitler's pledge of peace in new year message, Tuesday, is like British pledges—combined with increasing armed strength. This, and the fact that Germany appears to desire that peace to make friends with Italy and Britain separately with view to later joining whichever comes out on top, emphasizes need of real peace based on cooperation for good of all nations. How this can be done, page one.

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Peace News

January 15, 1938

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PACIFISTS who want a separate party but feel unable to join Christian Pacifist Party as full or associate members write, enclosing stamped envelope, to Box 60, PEACE NEWS, 59 Waterfall Road, N.11.

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January

DIARY OF THE WEEK

15 (Sat.) BRADFORD; 3 p.m. The Tokio Café; West Yorkshire Federation quarterly meeting; P.P.U.
EDMONTON; 6.30 p.m. Independent Church; meet for poster parade; P.P.U.
LEWES, Sussex; 8 p.m. Forester's Hall; New Year Rally; John Barclay; P.P.U.
SHERINGTON; 8.15 p.m. Church Room; H. S. Corran on "Air Raid Precautions"; P.P.U.
16 (Sun.) HENDON; 3 p.m. Brotherhood Hall, West Hendon Broadway, Edgware Road; Rev. R. H. Le Messurier; Hendon Brotherhood.
PADDINGTON; 4.30 p.m. Ethical Hall, Queen's Road; Frank Darvall on "The Foreign Policy of the U.S.A."; L.N.U.
LONDON, W.C.1; 6.30 p.m. Christ Church, Woburn Square; Students' Service; Dr. Alex. Wood, "Can Science Save Us?"
MUSWELL HILL; 8.30 p.m. Oriel Room, Tetherdown Hall, Tetherdown Road; Rev. Leatherland on "The Biblical Approach to Christian Pacifism"; F.O.R.
17 (Mon.) ISLINGTON; 7.30 p.m. Highbury Corner; volunteers please meet for Poster Parade.
GREENWICH; 8 p.m. Park Hall, Park Place; inaugural meeting; John Barclay; P.P.U.
18 (Tues.) BOURNEMOUTH; 7.30-11 p.m. Fellowship Hall, Kimberley Road, West Southbourne; new year social for members and friends of local P.P.U.; admission 6d. (refreshments extra).
ISLINGTON; 7.30 p.m. Highbury Corner; volunteers please meet for Poster Parade.
NUNEATON; 7.45 p.m. Congregational Hall, Coton Road; Canon Stuart Morris, Wilfred Wellock, and Rev. F. W. Moyle (chairman); P.P.U.
LONDON, N.W.1; 8 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Dr. Maude Royden, Mrs. Gee, Miss Wellington Koo, Capt. Philip S. Mumford, and Miss Mary Sutherland; Women's International League.
LONDON, W.I; 8.15 p.m. Manson Hall, 26 Portland Place; R. F. Harrod on "The Coming Slump"; Liberal Party Organization.
CHELSEA; 8.30 p.m. Labour Rooms, 420 King's Road; Nigel Spottiswoode; Chelsea Political Council of the London Cooperative Society.
19 (Wed.) BLACKFEN, Sidcup; 8 p.m. Cooperative Hall; John Barclay at Men's Cooperative Guild meeting.
EDMONTON; 8 p.m. Monmouth Hall, Hertford Road; film show,

Coming Shortly

January 27, WORCESTER PARK, Surrey; 8 p.m. St. Phillip's Church Hall, Lindsay Road; Dr. A. Herbert Gray, Robert Menneii, and Alexander Bain (chairman); P.P.U.
Jan. 29 TORQUAY; 8 p.m. Pen-gelley Hall, Torwood Street; 30 (Sun.) TOTNES; 3 p.m. Dartington Hall; and 30 (Sun.) NEWTON ABBOT; 8 p.m. Alexandra Theatre. Speakers: Laurence Housman, Canon Stuart Morris, Miss E. Thorneycroft, and Roy Walker; P.P.U. Tea provided at Dartington Hall for visiting group members. Particulars from E. C. Maddox, 39 Manor Road, Newton Abbot.

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